

HAWAIIAN GAZETTE.

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A. W. PEARSON,

Manager

TUESDAY DECEMBER 17.

It is now time for the recurrence of the report that the Republican party is irrevocably split upon tariff and reciprocity. Patience will show the same old winning vote, however.

Secretary Wilson hopes to teach the Filipino all about agriculture, but the difficulty may be that the gentle islander will prove too busy raising Cain of his own brand to take up with the American variety.

While American political economists are striving to lift the workmen of the United States above the "man with the hoe" stage, theorists here are preaching that his place in Hawaii is in the mud and mire of rice and cane fields.

When the anti-Dole Home Rule "Republican" petition reaches the capital we trust that somebody will take the trouble to examine a dozen or two of the old petitions asking for the restoration of the Queen, and note how many of the same "Republican" names are signed to them.

One of the anonymous writers that infest the editorial columns of the Independent says: "The Washington Star is referred to by the Advertiser as the organ of the President. If it is true, it is very much out of tune." Indeed! In that case some forcible remarks which the President made about the branded Judge to a recent Hawaiian caller must have been misunderstood.

The attitude of Danish residents of St. Thomas and its adjacent islands has changed since Grant's administration when they cast a solid vote for union with this country. They now position the Rigdag to keep them as they are, politically, even though they would be more prosperous under American laws. Evidently the Danish colonial officers, who like their foot, have done some skillful electioneering since the purchase negotiations were resumed.

The reckless way in which Mr. Emmeluth discusses public and economic questions appears in this paragraph of a letter written to a local paper in reply to the argument of Thomas Fitch. Speaking of the ease with which an American farmer can produce rice Mr. Emmeluth says: "He rides a gang plow that, with the assistance of three horses, enables him to plow four times the area that two Chinese and their water buffalo can do in the same time." Fancy a gang plow and three horses floundering in the soft ooze of an Oahu swamp! They would stand about as much chance there as a circus would in a quicksand.

The proposed boulevard would be a beautiful attraction. Further than that it is becoming a necessity now that the city is in the way of being gridironed with railway metal. Honolulu is getting "shy" on drives that are both agreeable and safe, and will be more so when the Pali road succumbs to the need of rapid transit. From such a boulevard as the Griswold syndicate proposes, the cars would be excluded and the road would not be allowed to get out of repair. In a few years, with its palms grown and scarlet topped poincianas shading the way, the new drive may be numbered among the most enjoyable features of Honolulu's outdoor life.

In trying to defend himself from the charge of misconduct in the Gussman case, Judge Humphreys, through his paper, states that, in denying the right of Judge Kauiloku to examine witnesses in the Hawaiian language, he was but following the letter and spirit of the organic law. This is one of the poor excuses that are hardly better than none. Speaking from the bench Judge Humphreys said that he had been permitting lawyers to examine Hawaiians in their own language, but that he would not do it for Judge Kauiloku because of a "false statement" he had made about the court. That is to say, this remarkable "jurist" had been violating the organic law on occasion, but would not do it for a man he did not like. To those who know the "judicial" person upon whom the Hawaiian bar put an ineffaceable brand of shame, the proceeding seems to have been most characteristic.

The advocates of the small farmer in Hawaii are getting eloquent. One declamatory organ puts unbounded faith in his triumph over nature because of the success of Americans in drawing lightning from the clouds and "harnessing steam"—didn't an Englishman do that?—and in discovering the secret of the aurora borealis. With all deference to these worthies it would be more to the point to show that the small farmer has overcome the Japanese beetle, the cut-worm, the chicken disease, the hog cholera, the taro and potato blight, the excessive freight rates between farm and market, the rust on oranges, the tendency of the more abundant tropical fruits to spoil in shipment, the cheap labor competition in raising vegetables here and the California competition in raising them on a large scale for export, the irrigation problem, the excessive heat of the lowlands and the soggy wet soil of the mountains. Any such discovery would help mightily in solving the small farmer problem, but just where lightning and the aurora borealis come in it is not given us to know. Perhaps the writer thinks that the aurora borealis is some new kind of turnip.

A CONDITION NOT A THEORY.

The successful building up of American homesteads all over Hawaii would be an ideal condition to reach. If the thing could be done it would prove the value, practically, of the theory of the organic law. It would, however, it would require Hawaii to produce for a single economically it would require the cost of living commercially, it would increase both exports and imports; politically, it would require legislation from the American mob. For years all this has been as well understood by the rulers of Hawaii as it now is by national statesmen. Laws have been framed to attract and secure settlers; some colonies have been established; much land has been divided into homestead tracts; but where is the homestead? First and last, thousands of homesteaders have come here, made inquiries of people who know, looked at things as they are and gone away. The newspapers have not scared them, for it is obvious to every publisher here that the more American settlers there are the more customers for the press and the more money in the life currents of trade.

The question of why the agricultural jury thus "sat on" Hawaii and found it an unprofitable place for small farmers is most interesting. They said with the high hand that the large part of the arable land, lying near the coast, is worth vastly more for sugar produced on a big scale and by means of irrigation, than it is for cabbages or corn or wheat, assuming that these characteristic productions of the north temperate zone could be grown upon it at all. No one seeking a profit, unless it be a Chinaman with a truck farm or a rice field in the environs of Honolulu, would think of growing anything else than sugar on sugar land. He would not afford to do so on land with a sugar valuation, and such a move would be thought of taking advantage of the high price of sugar by growing it on ten or twenty acre tracts and selling the cane to a plantation near by; but after counting the cost of planting, of waiting for a mature crop, of getting water on the land, and the trouble of stripping the cane, to say nothing about the mistakes likely to be made in the pursuit of an unfamiliar industry, they have abandoned the scheme. Some men have turned to fruit, but it takes time to grow trees, and when they mature they are not very profitable. Most of our tropical fruits, the alligator pear, mango and breadfruit are not exportable, except on ice, and the local demand for them is limited. Oranges do not thrive well here, and our market prefers the fine California article which, in fact, is cheaper than poor oranges brought in from Kona. Owing to our climate lemons do not cure well. Pineapples are a fairer proposition, but they are a side crop at best. Our bananas, which sometimes sell at the rate of three for five cents in the San Francisco market, are a crop for Chinamen. The growing of vegetables, owing to numerous pests, never attracts white men who, it must be confessed, are less successful when they do try than are the Orientals.

A homestead to succeed must produce enough food for a family, and enough beyond that to sell for the cash needed for clothing, taxes, repairs, insurance, live stock and small comforts. It remains to be shown that this can be done in Hawaii by any white man. We have told why so far as sugar land is concerned, but we have not spoken of the upper levels where the climate shades off from the tropical and the chance of growing ordinary staples would seem, at first thought, to be better. But, unluckily, as we go up hill we get into a region of superabundant rain, and things spoil in the ground. Often at fair elevations the soil is but a thin carpet over solid masses of lava. Distance from the market, from supplies and from schools all count against the homesteader. He is beset with difficulties and he soon gives up. There was hope a few years ago when the Olaa settlers took hold; but now the route through their country is made melancholy by abandoned homes.

We must therefore face the stern truth that this is a sugar country, and not much else, and the stern truth that if sugar is to be grown at a profit cheap labor must be had. We do not say that white men could not work in the Hawaiian cane fields, but it is true that they will not do so any more than white men will work in the cane fields and rice swamps of Louisiana and Cuba. If they would so work their wages would soon drive the planters out of business. Even the price of Japanese labor here is big enough to seriously reduce plantation dividends. In fact, Hawaii is situated somewhat as Jamaica was when her magnificent prosperity of 100 years ago was broken up by an increase in the price of labor. These islands may get out better than their West Indian neighbor did through the fostering care of the United States; but those who claim that, if the sugar industry goes, small farming will take its place, should remember how little this recourse availed Jamaica when her staple industry was crushed.

Too many people, especially people at a distance, theorize about Hawaii. But it is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us. Hawaii is not New England, or Florida, or California. It is a tropical island down on the edge of the equatorial zone, which must bear fruit after its kind or no fruit at all. Men do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles, nor do they reap in the tropics what is sown in the north temperate zone.

NO SPECIAL CHINESE LEGISLATION

Everything material in this country depends upon sugar. The commercial life of Hawaii rises and falls with the price of sugar. The press, the politicians, the merchants, and the shipping men, all alike, depend upon it for a livelihood. It is then suicidal for any resident of Hawaii to attempt to hamper this all-pervading industry.

There may be and are, however, honest differences of opinion as to the best policy concerning certain phases of the industry. For example: The sugar plantations need more labor. Where are they to come from? Millions of dollars have been spent by planters and by the government in bringing Norwegians, Germans, Portuguese, Japanese and Porto Ricans to Hawaii to till the fields. The expense is almost prohibitive, and United States immigration laws also hamper assisted immigration. But for the exclusion laws, all the laborers needed would forthwith come from China at their own expense. Why not, then, agitate for a change in the immigration laws, so that special provisions may be made allowing Chinese to come to Hawaii as agricultural laborers? The laboring portion of this course is being urged by many as the only solution of our labor difficulties.

The Advertiser is unable to agree with them. Irrespective of the question of whether Chinese labor would be beneficial to Hawaii or not, the Advertiser is absolutely opposed to the policy of asking Congress for special legislation upon this subject. One reason for this opposition is the fact that the request will never be granted. "Equal opportunity for all; special privilege for none," is a principle woven into the very fabric of the national sentiment.

It is unthinkable that, in a law involving a broad national policy, exemptions should be made in favor of one State, while the law in terms applies to all others. For example, it is national policy, embodied in law, to prohibit registering under the American flag any but American-built ships. Would the citizens of New York, for any reason, or under any condition that can be imagined, dream of asking for a special proviso in the shipping law, allowing the residents of that particular State to register foreign-built ships under the American flag?

Would Massachusetts or California ever think of asking that they be allowed free trade while the other States were under a protective tariff? Would even Colorado ever ask that it be allowed the free coinage of silver, while the other States continued under the gold standard?

Equally with the shipping law, the protective tariff and the gold standard, is the Chinese immigration law a measure of national policy. While Hawaii is not yet a State, it has been admitted by Congress to the high status of a "Territory of the United States," with practically all the privileges and advantages of a State, except the power to elect certain officers.

It is illogical and unreasonable that the citizens of the Territory of Hawaii, who have been granted every material advantage, every legal protection, and every constitutional guaranty which the United States affords to its sovereign States and its most favored citizens, should accept this "equal opportunity" as a matter of course and ask for a "special privilege" not accorded to such States and citizens.

It is claimed that Hawaii's position is unique, in that we are not only short of labor, but are so isolated that no laborers other than Chinese are available on like favorable terms.

This is partly true; but we are no worse off than the fruit farmers of California, while the prohibition extends to Chinese only, of all the world's population.

We knew when we sought annexation that the Chinese exclusion act would apply here, and with this full knowledge accepted the privileges and benefits of American citizenship. We also assumed the obligations and burdens of that status.

Even if it were possible to secure the special exemption asked for, does it not lay us open to the charge that we are Americans "for revenue only," when we accept the free market accorded the sugar growers of California and ask for the labor supply which is refused them, although they need it nearly, if not quite, as much as we do?

When the national policy concerning Chinese laborers changes, we will receive the benefits or be subject to the ills thereof, in common with our fellow-citizens on the Mainland. Moreover, if we are to escape the business policy for us to quit chasing rainbows; to look elsewhere than China for our labor supply, and recognize as a finality that for better or worse Hawaii is and will continue to be an integral part of the United States, and subject to its national policies, without hope or possibility of variation therein for our special benefit.

STILL BANDER-LOGGING.

The Home Rulers now conclude that because President Roosevelt has expressed the view that this Territory should develop along American lines, he will be prepared to take the advice of the only non-American political body here. Happily, in his complete understanding of island politics, President Roosevelt is able to measure these Home Rulers inch by inch from the height of their vicious opposition to everything American to the depth of their ignorance and venality. He knows that these are the anti-annexation native monarchists in disguise; he knows that their "leader" offered his ridiculous sword to Aguinaldo; he knows that their Legislature was a farce-comedy, and that they have no more idea about the ethics of government than they have about those of common sense and common honesty; he knows that they make their campaigns among the poor natives by telling them that Home Rule meant the restoration of the throne. And knowing all this, the President may be trusted to give their political memoranda against Governor Dole—the man who turned their kind out of office by the revolution of 1893—about as much consideration as he would a diatribe from the Populists or a petition from a band of anarchists in session behind a beer vat.

We believe the latest form which the Home Rule bander-logging has assumed is an attempt to have the Republican Governor removed because he refused to sign a Home Rule country government bill. A fine measure copied from some Western county charter will be sent to the President to show what an opportunity to spread the principles of Americanism was spoiled by the gubernatorial veto. The actual bill, the one which reached the Governor, was, as we recall it, a crazy-quilt of paragraphs copied from various charters, some of them retaining the original names of locally. The Home Rulers actually legislated for a county in the State of Washington. Their rag-bag bill began and ended nowhere in particular, was full of legal bloopers and would have exposed the Governor, if he had signed it, to a reprimand from the President. Even if the bill had become a law, it would have failed to get the aboriginal politicians into all the offices, as was its main object, because the courts would have removed it on a shovel and put it on a dump.

Still we do not want the Home Rulers

to be discouraged in their peculiar politics. The more Washington sees of them and the more it hears from them the sooner it will get in a mood to relieve the American party here from a most intolerable burden. As we go on with the petitions and the memorials and the other absurdities, for they will pass the beginning of the end.

FIGHT OVER CUBA.

Among the citizens of this Territory are many who have not been Americans for a sufficiently long time to permit them to get the proper perspective. Those there are who accept the pronouncements of the first message of President Roosevelt as law in itself, but they appear to forget that there is a large and peculiar body which stands between recommendations and law, between the promise of the head of the party and fulfillment by another branch of government.

The message of President Roosevelt is an able document and sets forth clearly the views of the executive as to what would be the ultimate end in good government for the nation. Should he find, however, that the developments of the next month indicate that it would be better policy to change a view upon any point comprehended in his message, it would be idle to argue that even he would regard his message as dicta on all points of policy. That there are two views he himself recognizes in the paragraphs regarding relations with Cuba. The President always was an earnest partisan of the Cubans, and was one of the enthusiastic ones who never was able to see that there was any guile in the heirs to the Pearl of the Antilles. So it was that the service of the President in the field was one full not only of intense action, but as well of sympathy for the people who received the direct benefits from the intervention of the United States.

It is but natural, then, that at this, the first opportunity which he has to show great interest in the people, that he should move to give to Free Cuba all the advantages which come from close relations with the great republic. But there is a side to the matter which it is not well to overlook before the business men of the Territory give themselves up to gloomy forebodings. It is not disloyalty to the President to say that all the reforms which he advocates will not be enacted into law. The pronouncement of the chief executive as to reciprocity is as strong as that upon Cuba or exclusion. Yet in the telegrams from Washington as steadfast a supporter of the government as Senator George C. Perkins, of California, declares that he believes there will be no action upon any of the reciprocity treaties, and especially that with France, and quotes the very words of the President in support of his position against them.

While the newspapers from the National Capital are not of as recent date as those from the coast, there is in them much which affords to us, at this distance, a sidelight upon the views with which members have come to the present session of Congress. The following quotation from the news columns of the Star of Washington, would indicate that the question of what is to be done for Cuba has been thought out for themselves by many members, and they do not give opinions which should be other than reassuring to the people of Hawaii.

The element of interest in the situation is the fact that this disposition is entertained by some Senators who have heretofore been recognized as the staunchest advocates of the protective tariff system. They declare their attitude in this case to be consistent, however, and explain it on the ground that present concessions would be the lesser of two evils—that if something isn't done for the Cubans, annexation is inevitable and free trade would follow a contingency that is intolerable to the protectionists.

It is said that it will be contended by some Senators that it is not necessary to wait for the establishment of a Cuban government; that Congress can pass a resolution amending the Dingley act so as to provide that sugar imported from Cuba shall pay 20 per cent less duty than other sugars, and that Cuban tobacco shall be given a discount. It is claimed that such a resolution would not be objectionable to the "most favored nation" clauses in treaties with foreign countries from the fact that Cuba is still the ward of this government, and that we can regulate tariff arrangements for the dependency.

The intimation that a proposition of the nature of the foregoing is likely to be made, means, it is said, that if such tariff concessions are attempted one of the bitterest factional fights the republican party has ever engaged in will be witnessed this winter. The little flurry over the Porto Rican tariff will not be a circumstance to it.

The American Protective Tariff League and the high protectionists generally are absolutely set against any concession to Cuba. Their opposition is based against reduction of the sugar tariff and the duties on tobacco, but they claim that the principle of protection is the main stake. They do not believe that concessions are necessary to obviate possible annexation; they think the spirit of protection to home producers prevailing in this country will keep Cuba out of the Union.

They have won over to their side the friends of the best sugar growers of the west and tobacco raisers of every section, and are prepared to make a stiff fight in the House and Senate against any proposition to let down the tariff bars to Cuban planters.

Opposed to them will be the strong sentiment of charity that will be aroused in the public in Cuba's favor. Several prominent republican senators have given recently that the whole people of the United States will be aroused and annexation of Cuba will be the outcome. It is pointed out that the Cubans have lost the market they formerly possessed in Spain. Their products pay duty now, as every other import. They find the doors of the United States customs houses closed to them, except when they can pay a stiff rate of duty, and in this plight it is claimed they are suffering. The high protectionists and the best-sugar men raise the cry that concessions to Cuba will redound mainly to the benefit of the sugar trust in this country. They demand that Cuba shall be given her independence and then left to work out her own economic salvation along with the other nations of the world.

"Charity begins at home," is their motto; "let's look out for our own producers first."

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BOX 342.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, Dec. 4.—United States Fish Commissioner G. M. Bowers has appointed J. O. Snyder, assistant in zoology, and W. K. Fisher, laboratory assistant, and a graduate student, of that department to accompany Dr. C. W. Gilbert on his expedition to collect and classify the fishes of Hawaii. The party will leave on the Albatross soon after the first of the year.

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